BEDOUINS MJ4

Sedentarization of the Nomads in the Arab Middle East

Introduction

*166 In spite of the importance and magnitude of the issue, the problem of sedentarization has largely been neglected by experts on Middle Eastern Affairs, and no comprehensive study has yet been made on the subject.

The chief obstacle to an exhaustive treatment of the subject is the meagerness of reliable data. Trustworthy statistical information is generally not available for the countries of the Middle East, with the exception of Egypt and the Arab population of Palestine (Israel). The Bedouin, more than the settled people, have a deep-rooted aversion to any type of enumeration.

• 114 The writer has endeavored to consult the obtainable written literature, statistical, analytical and descriptive. While the material may be adequate for a discussion of sedentarization in general terms, a more detailed study must wait for additional factual data to become available.

The Role of Pastoralism and Agriculturalism

121 As this dissertation is concerned with the transition of societies, nomadic to sedentary, it is in place to sketch briefly the role of pastoralism and agriculturalism in the growth of human civilization.

000 Modern society derives its sustenance from farming, or stock-breeding, or both. Simpler people are sustained by hunting, fishing and the collecting of wild roots and seeds.[1] There is

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1. Boas, 1938, p. 282

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

FOREWORD

114 608 A brief autobiographical note will explain how I came to write this book. I was born in Beyrout, Syria, in 1881, and as a small child was taken to Damascus, where my mother's milk failed early. It so happened that Shaikh Mijwal of the Mazrab section of the Sba'a, the well-known sub-tribe of the great 'Anizah group, was in Damascus at the time, and gallantly stepping into the breach, he volunteered to secure for me a wet nurse or foster mother from among his tribeswomen. A Badawiyah girl was duly produced and according to my mother's testimony I drank her milk for several weeks. This in the eyes of the Badawin entitles me to a certain "blood affinity" with the 'Anizah; for to drink a woman's milk in the desert is to become a child of the foster mother. This fact has been of assistance to me in my dealings with the Badawin of the high desert and around Kuwait.

114 Shaikh Mijwal al Mazrab, as my readers will doubtless remember, was the desert Chieftain who married Lady Digby (at one time also Lady Ellenborough) in the late sixties, and provided her with a suitable residence in Damascus where she always spent the summer months. After the death of Lady Digby in 1881, this house was rented by my father, and I spent my childhood days rambling about the lovely garden that had once been the pride and happiness of Lady Digby. At an early age I was given my first camel ride, by Shaikh Mijwal's grown-up son Shaikh Ja'afat, or Ya'afat as he was called, who still clearly remembers the incident.

My father was at this time H.B.M.'s Consul at Damascus.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

page 7
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PREFACE

I started collecting material for this book in 1929 when I first came to Kuwait, and have continued to do so up to midsummer of 1936, when my notes were finally typed out.

I am conscious that place and personal names have in some cases been spelt not in accordance with official practice, and I fear in this respect I am laying myself open to criticism. My excuse is that I was anxious to spell strange-sounding names as they were locally pronounced, and not according to any hard and fast rule.

I make no apologies for style. Throughout my career I have felt my shortcomings as a writer. I recall that my late Chief in Iraq, Sir Arnold Wilson, once remarked to me, "You are a very good Political Officer, but you cannot write a d——!" so my readers now know the worst. I have simply done my best to pass on to those interested in Arabia certain knowledge which I have acquired by long residence among the Badawin, and in the peculiarly Arab town of Kuwait. Some of this knowledge will I think be found to be new, and it would to my mind be a pity to leave no record of it, especially of the charming and unspoiled Badawin of Eastern Arabia. I shall feel amply rewarded if those whose work hereafter leads them to Arabia, whether as Government servants or in commercial undertakings, find some solace or pleasure in my book. I shall be doubly rewarded if I succeed in inspiring an interest in one of the proudest and most lovable of all peoples, the Desert Arab.

In conclusion may I plead that such eminent authorities on Arabia as H. St. J. Philby, Bertram Thomas, Paul Harrison and others who may read these lines be gentle in their criticism.

H. R. P. D.

KUWAIT
September 26, 1936

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CHAPTER I

My Life in the Desert

114 Badawin life has been so often and so well described by such giants 123 in Arabian knowledge as Doughty, Musil, Philby, Bertram Thomas and others, that I feel timid in recording my own experiences. I am constrained to do so, however, by the thought that even I may be able to add a little to the knowledge that has been accumulated about a people, who are perhaps more lovable than any other race on earth, for I have had the good fortune, during my seven years' life among the Muntafiq and Khazail Arabs of the Euphrates, my two years' duty in Bahrain and Hasa, and last but not least during my subsequent seven years' sojourn in Kuwait as H.M.'s Political Agent, to have lived, moved about and camped among the nomad Badawin* in their own tents and as one of themselves. During these years, and in particular during my service in Kuwait, I learned to like and respect the Badawin and gained an insight into his life which I shall never regret.† I was blessed with a wonderful partner, who loved the Arab woman, her charming ways, her wonderful courage, simplicity and pride of race even more perhaps than I did her menfolk. This enabled me to acquire through her a knowledge of the thoughts, manners and occupations of these daughters of Arabia and descendants of Hagar, which few others have had a like chance to gain. Two factors in particular have helped me to win the confidence of the Arab and have assisted not a little in furthering my investigations. First, the fact that I was wet-nursed by an 'Anizah woman of the Misrab section of the Ruwala, and so can claim milk-brotherhood with them. Secondly, the fact that I have spoken Arabic from childhood.

103 * In Arabic *al bádia* means the nomad-inhabited desert; *al badu* or *al baduwi* (feminine: *al badawiyah*) the desert-dwelling nomad, whom in English we call the "Badawin". The nomad naturally does not refer to himself as a Badawin, but rightly styles himself an Arab. I use the word Badawin as both a singular and plural noun and as an adjective.

† Since quitting official life I have continued to reside in Kuwait as a member of the Kuwait Oil Company.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Desert Camping

The Badawin themselves were quick to realise that I was interested in them and liked them ("Al galb sháhid" as they say: "the heart bears witness") and appreciated the fact that I preferred to live in a black tent as they did, and always kept one ready in the desert, year in and year out, in charge of a respected Badawin family who wandered about with other nomads. These things made my position in the Kuwait Badawin world secure.

When I first came to Kuwait in May 1929, I bought the necessary "black" Badawin tents, and handed them over to one Salim al Muzaiyin, a Mutair (Sana) tribesman of Kuwait, whom with his Shammari wife I met in the Shamiyah camping ground of Kuwait when out riding one afternoon, instructing him to pitch my tents wherever he and his family and herdsmen happened to wander. I thus got early into desert ways and always had a camp ready for me. For seven* winters in succession I have made a practice of taking out my wife, son and daughter,† and living with our Badawin friends as opportunity offered and work at headquarters permitted. I would often take my wife and little girl to camp 40 or 50 miles away, leave them there alone for ten days or a fortnight. My own sojourns were as a rule of shorter duration, but speaking generally, we were able to spend quite a third of the Autumn, Winter and Spring months of each year wandering round with our Arab friends. Our favourite part of Kuwait, because of the abundance of grazing and flowers in spring, was Araifjan, a district some 40 miles south of Kuwait, but our wanderings took us at different times to practically every corner of the state, as well as to the Kuwait Neutral Zone.‡ Our own camp always consisted of three tents. With our Badawin family's three tents this gave us six tents all told, which were invariably pitched in a line.

Sometimes of course our party camped alone, at other times among large numbers of 'Ajman, 'Awazim, Mutair or 'Arabdar Badawin as the mood of our man took him, or migrations from the south occurred.

We never told Salim to go to any particular place or to join up with any particular tribe—we left him to decide where the grazing was

* Now eighteen winters.

† My son was sent to school in England in 1933, my daughter in 1935.

‡ Not included in the above, a journey to Khabari Wadha in Sa'udi Arabia in 1930, and another journey to Riyadh in 1937.

I: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

best for his own camels and sheep, and for our sheep, camels and horses, which we left entirely in his charge. All we asked of him was that as he moved about and pitched his own camp, he would also pitch our black tents, ready for us to join him if opportunity offered. 114 123

There was no need for him to tell us where he intended to move to next or when. We in Kuwait always knew where the various Badawin ('Arabdar as well as foreign Badawin) were encamped. It was part of my job as Political Agent to know this—and any tribesman could at any given moment say where Abu Sa'ud's or Daksan's camp was.*

Our desert life was good; I count 1929 to 1936 as some of the happiest years that my wife and I have ever spent together. In these camps my wife and daughter largely amused themselves with collecting wild flowers for Kew Gardens in London and insects for the South Kensington Natural History Museum. I for my part did political work, got in touch with neighbouring shaikhs from Sa'udi Arabia or Iraq and generally kept myself abreast of the Badawin news about the Arabian world. When not at work, the wife and I hawked the lesser bustard (*hubára*), shot sand grouse or went for rides on our riding camels. Such rides almost always ended in calls on our neighbours, some 'Ajman shaikh, or some relative of the Shaikh of Kuwait. Periodically, if distances were great, we would take out cars and visit shaikhs of the Mutair, Shammar, 'Ajman and 'Awazim tribes, many of whom migrated almost every year, with their vast herds of camels, into Kuwait territory or into the Neutral Zone to the south of it. Many happy days were thus spent, and we were able to get on to terms of real intimacy with the shaikhs of those great tribes as well as with their charming womenfolk. My descriptions of such things as the daily round of a Badawin family, and how they water their camels, horses, sheep, etc., are therefore based on actual experience. I would watch their doings for days at a time, and supplement my observation by perpetually asking questions. I used to find that a good opportunity for questioning was round our camp fire at night. On these occasions while coffee went the round, men, women and children of the camp would foregather in our tent, retail news of raids, expectations, rain, grazing,

* "Daksan" was the Badawin version of my name, but I was more often known as the "father of Sa'ud"—Abu Sa'ud.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

114 sickness amongst camels, sheep and so forth, and answer questions
123 on a hundred subjects. Were strangers to drop in, the women and children would discreetly disappear, but the real valuable and pleasant evenings were those when we were *en famille*, so to speak, and outsiders were neither present nor expected.

115 The following made up our family at Abu Sa'ud's camp, as it was
592 called, in the *barr* (desert):

Salim al Muzaiyin—the head of our Badawin family (Mutairi).
Maziad—a Dhafir tribesman (assistant to Salim), and a fine example of a desert fighting man.
Dhuwaihi—'Azmi* (Muta'awah), a blind old man and leader of the family prayers.
Hamud—a lad of sixteen, Salim's nephew.
Faláh—'Azmi camel herdsman and brother of Dhuwaihi.
Nasir—'Azmi shepherd.
Swailim—'Azmi camel-herd.
Amsha—wife of Salim, our hostess (a Shammariyah).
Maneira—Salim's sister.
Hussa—Salim's daughter (fifteen years old).
Wadha—Dhuwaihi's daughter (fourteen years old).
Dghaima—Maziad's daughter (mother was dead).
Adhaiya—Dhuwaihi's daughter.
Marzúk—negro slave boy (died 1933).
Mabrúk—negro slave boy (aged three in 1934).
Hawaiya—Dhuwaihi's wife (seldom seen).
Dhuwaihi's three infants, Faláh, Kharmit and Bibi.

Of the above the following deserve more detailed mention:

Salim al Muṭaiyin.—A fine, thick-set, good type of Badawin—of the Muzaina family, a semi-nomad Mutairi. Head of the clan is his brother Ibrahim al Muzaiyin, at one time intimate companion, friend and standard-bearer of the great Shaikh Mubárak of Kuwait and hero of a dozen tribal battles and a hundred raids. Ibrahim left the service of the present shaikh three years ago, as times were bad in Kuwait, and removed to Riyadh, where he now enjoys a comfortable stipend from Bin Sa'ud. Salim, who is now the head of the house in Kuwait, is widely respected for his honesty, stability and knowledge of country from Kuwait to Riyadh and Hufuf. He visits Bin Sa'ud's capital regularly twice a year, to see his elder brother, and generally is *persona grata* with the King as with Ibn

* Singular of 'Awazim.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER XXII

'Ajman Talks and Tales

(from my original Diaries)

PHILBY'S "EMPTY QUARTER"

While camped alongside of a large 'Ajman camp, consisting of details of the Musrah, Mahfudh and Sulaiman sections, on 7th November, 1933, some 30 miles south of Kuwait, I took the opportunity of discussing with Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir bin Hawaila, both of the Mahfudh, Philby's journey across the Rub' al Kháli. The world was still talking of his remarkable experiences, and I was curious to know how much the ordinary Badawin knew about it, and especially those northern sections of the 'Ajman who reside in and on the borders of Kuwait.

I found that they knew all about Philby's adventures and to a less extent about Bertram Thomas's journey too.

Both Junaifir and Muhammad al Hajjaj, as well as other greybeards present, declared that they knew Falah abu Ja'sha well, and most of the Murra and 'Ajman companions of Philby mentioned on page 10 of his *Empty Quarter* (I had the book with me, and read out the names). They went further and quite voluntarily recounted some of the more amusing incidents that had befallen Philby. They had got these, they said, from Abu Ja'sha and others. My hearers spoke of Philby as a *rayál*, meaning that he was a "man indeed", and said that he had not stinted his money, when it came to rewarding his party. They said, however, that he was *hamaqi*, hot-tempered, but that as he was a "good Muslim" this would be forgiven him. Junaifir said that he knew the country covered by Philby as far as Bir Fáthil and Maqainama wells, but had never been further south of these places, which as he said was *Dirat al Murra*. He had also been down the Wadi al Dawasir to Sulaiyil and to the more western wells of Ranya, Bisha, Jash and Tathlith.

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

609 114 Muhammad al Hajjaj on the other hand said that he had been as far as Najran *via* Sulaiyil and had married a girl there and resided with her for some time. The Yam tribe of that region were, he said, blood brothers of the 'Ajman and Murra, who both had originally come from Najran. As regards the Rúb' al Kháli, he said he had once visited the wells of Um al Hadid (near 'Ubar) with the Murra, and had heard much about the ancient city which was supposed to lie buried there under the sands. His furthest southern point had been a spot a little north of Shenna (Philby's furthest south), where the water was everywhere undrinkable.

Both Muhammad bin Hajjaj and Junaifir called the phantom city 'Ubár; I tried to make them say it was "Wabár", but they said theirs was the correct way of pronouncing its name. They did admit, however, that "Wabár" was the way the tribes to the north and round Hasa pronounced the name, while the Murra, Manasír and Awámir, etc., call it "'Ubár". This is of interest in view of the arguments which both Philby and Bertram Thomas put forward as to the right way of spelling the now famous spot.

PHILBY AND THE MILK

000 On 27th April, 1935, I spent a whole day with some of the Mahfudh section of the 'Ajman camped 30 miles south of Kuwait and west of the Dhahar ridge. I went over to their widely extended camp which was situate some 5 miles south of mine and found Mahfudh, 'Arja, and other details camped together.

Old Junaifir bin Hawaila, Marait his cousin, and Fahad father of Maneira, wife of Hamad bin Mishwat, were there besides many others. 'Abdullah bin Junaifir gave me lunch (my wife and Zahra were with me and also Salim al Muzaiyin). It consisted of two sheep and a grand dish of rice, cooked 'Ajman fashion (i.e. with lots of yellow-looking melted butter poured over the rice as a gravy). The meat was deliciously tender, and we enjoyed our meal. The owners of some dozen tents lunched on the remains after we had finished, and while they were feeding we repaired to Husain abu Juma's tent and his brother Suwaiyan's, both doughty warriors it was said, who had accompanied Sa'ud the King's son to Najran, during the recent Yaman expedition (1934).

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

THE BADU OF SOUTHERN ARABIA

By W. P. THESIGER, D.S.O.

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Lecture given on September 28, 1949, Lieut.-General Sir Adrian Carton de Wiart, V.C., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: To-day Mr. Thesiger is going to talk to us about the countries around the Red Sea, with which he has been acquainted since childhood. He was born in Abyssinia. Before the recent war he was with the Sudan Civil Service. In 1940 he was sent to Abyssinia and volunteered for service there with the Ethiopian Patriot Force, in which he was awarded the D.S.O.

Later he was sent on special duty to Damascus and was able to resume his Arabic studies. Since the war he has carried out several remarkable trips to explore the heart of the area known as the "Empty Quarter," and he is now going to tell us about the most recent of these.

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I AM going to talk about the Badu of Southern Arabia; that is to say, the camel-owning nomads who live in and around the Empty Quarter. I wish to make it clear that I am talking about the Badu, or Baduin, and not about Arabs who cultivate or live in towns, for there is all the difference in the world between them. I do not suppose that a sophisticated young town Arab would be flattered if you referred to him as a Badui, though it is surprising how many of them do proudly claim Badu origin, and I do know that no Badui would like to be called a townsman or cultivator. At first sight the Badu of Southern Arabia appear to be very different from those of the north, but I believe that this difference is largely superficial and due to the clothes which they wear. I do not think that either a Sa'ari from the deserts just north of the Hadhramaut or a Wahibi from South-Eastern Oman would feel himself much out of place in an encampment of the Rualla. On the other hand, I think that a townsman from Aden or Muscat would always be conspicuous in Damascus. I wish also to make it quite clear that I am describing conditions in Southern Arabia and not in Arabia as a whole. In the past Badu life was everywhere much the same, harder in some places and easier in others. The last quarter of a century has, however, seen the most revolutionary changes in the north. There Ibn Saud has imposed his iron will upon the tribes. He has subjected the nomad to the rule of the settled Arab, stamped out raiding, and taxed the Badui as well as the cultivator. The same process has been carried out in Trans-Jordan, in Syria, and in Iraq. It was largely the use of the motor-car which made it possible to bring the Badu under control, for that robbed them of their age-old inaccessibility. Previously they had only to retire into the desert to be safe from pursuit, but now they are at the mercy of a motorized patrol, unable to get away and with nowhere to hide.

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Cars have, however, not yet penetrated into the southern desert, and there the old life still goes on. I do not suppose, except that the Badu are now armed with rifles, that their way of life has greatly changed since the times of Abraham. In the south they are still dominant and even unchallenged. It is true that before they enter the valley of the Hadhramaut

22;Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

TRIBAL AREAS AND MIGRATION LINES OF THE NORTH ARABIAN BEDOUINS

Carl R. Raswan

[With separate map, Pl. V, facing p. 502]

SINCE 1911 the writer has spent a total of about seven years among the Bedouins. The main purpose of his repeated visits to northern Arabia has been the breeding of Arab horses and study of their history. Incidentally he has been impelled to determine as accurately as possible the *dira* or pasture districts of the various Bedouin tribes.

The accompanying maps are based largely upon personal observations and inquiries among the 'Aneze, Shammar, Shararat, Huetat, Beni Sakhr, and other tribes, supplemented by data gleaned from Doughty's "Travels in Arabia Deserta" and more especially from Alois Musil's works. While the maps are in no sense final or complete, the writer is confident that their delineation of the tribal areas is more accurate than that shown on any previous maps.

Definite Boundaries

The migrations of the Bedouins are not arbitrary, aimless wanderings in the wilderness. Well defined landmarks limit them. Tribes related by blood ties may frequently use the same districts together at certain seasons of the year. One tribe may conclude a treaty with strangers, permitting the latter to use its pastures and watering places for a specified period. Or else a powerful tribe, like the Ruala, may invade an enemy's territory without warning. In this case constant bickering, raiding, and skirmishing is the inevitable result.

A great northward shift of the Shammar and 'Aneze nomads took place during the first part of the seventeenth century, and the existing apportionment of the tribal areas was at that time roughly established. The boundaries which the various tribes now claim as their own and which are marked by water holes, variations in the desert surface (as between lava rock, gravel, red sand, etc.), dry watercourses, solitary hills, mountain ranges, cultivated tracts, and the like, have been definitely fixed since the beginning of the last century. Some of the more important of these landmarks are shown on Plate V, facing p. 502.

As a typical example of a tribal area let us examine the *dira* of the 'Amarat tribe of the 'Aneze "nation" (Fig. 1). The eastern limit

25: Thesiger T-3 (1944-47) 1949 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

Wolves of the Desert

The Sa'ar Tribe at the Watering Place

by WILFRED THESIGER, D.S.O.

114 *The Geographical Magazine Trust Fund has contributed a substantial sum towards the cost of Mr Thesiger's journeys across the Empty Quarter of Southern Arabia, during one of which the encounter herein described took place.* (Left) *A Sa'ar tribesman: of a clan "hated and feared by all the South Arabian desert tribes"*

P. 394 (B)

29: Glubb--1 G-3 (ca.1935) 1943 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4
Sulubba

THE SULUBBA AND OTHER IGNOBLE TRIBES OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA

by

J. B. Glubb*

* Political Officer in Trans-Jordan.
These notes were received at Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, during 1935--H.F.

SULUBBA

101 The origin of these people remains obscure.
144 None of the Arab historians of the early Islamic conquests appear to mention them, which seems to disprove the theory that they are remnants of an old conquered race. The hypothesis suggesting descent from the Crusaders seems to be a modern European fantasia based solely on the resemblance between their tribal name and the Arabic word for a cross.

101 144 173 Musil (1), in his "Arabia Deserta," states

1. Alois Musil, Arabia Deserta, p. 233.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

The élaki is the common saddle type all

over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḥawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sbo'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥeddǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥeddǧe* or *ḥawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḥawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

Saddles of the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* type (*élaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *aruki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47 g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

The *élaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJY

Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

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It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

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